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WEDNESDAY
SEPTEMBER 1, 1954

The French Parliamentarians are on vacation, with considerable wreckage left behind. There was an editorial in yesterday's New York Times which is typical of the general reaction of the American press to the defeat of EDC:

"The cause of Western defense and European unification suffered a staggering blow when a leaderless, ham-strung and confused French National Assembly in effect rejected the European Defense Community treaty last night and thereby killed, at least for the present, the most promising Western enterprise of the post-war era. The death blow, in the shape of a procedural motion to break off debate on the treaty and postpone its ratification indefinitely, was approved by a vote of 319 to 264, which means that a change in less than thirty votes would have had a different result.

"Four of the prospective members of the European Defense Community, which provides for a unified European Army with German divisions in it and for supra-national institutions to promote further European unification, have already ratified the treaty and a fifth was about to do so. But there were simply not enough 'Europeans' in the French National Assembly to do likewise, and for the life of the present Assembly the project is now regarded as dead.

"This is a development that marks the greatest post-war triumph for Soviet policy, which made the destruction of the European Defense Community one of its main objectives in order to wean Germany from the West and open the road to a further Communist advance in Europe. There is no doubt that it could have, in Secretary Dulles' words, the most 'serious consequences'.

"It is a particularly heavy blow to Chancellor Adenauer and his policy of German integration with the West. Unless quickly softened, it could precipitate in Germany a feeling of rejection and frustration leading to a resurgence of German nationalism and increased pressure for a new 'Rapallo' approach to Soviet

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Russia that would make a democratic unification of Europe impossible.

"But the same development is also a heavy blow to American policy in Europe. This policy, in keeping with NATO Council decisions, called not only for a German contribution to Western defense but also for European unification to eliminate any possibility of future war between France and Germany as an essential condition of Western defense and the security of our troops in Europe. The action of the French National Assembly, which destroys the basis of this policy, now releases the United States and Britain from all pledges regarding the stationing of troops on the Continent and may, indeed, lead to the 'agonizing reappraisal' of both American policy and NATO troop dispositions Mr. Dulles has foreshadowed.

"The causes for this melancholy result of a four-year effort lie deeply imbedded in the French character and political structure. But the primary responsibility for it must now rest on Premier Mendès-France, who refused to fight for the Community project and even failed to force a direct vote on the treaty itself. This, however, is not the end. M. Mendès-France himself has recognized that neither German sovereignty nor German rearmament can be delayed indefinitely, and many alternative plans for both are already under way. And the idea of European unification will live and flower when the present wreckers of it have sunk into oblivion."

Ashley Clarke came over from London today and had lunch with us. He thinks the rejection of EDC by the French Parliament will weaken the position of the Italian Government, which has developed a promising campaign against the Communists based upon the expectation of the ratification of EDC by the Italian Parliament this autumn. His impression is the Italians will now discontinue further action on the Treaty.

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I talked to Livie Merchant in Washington on the telephone and secured his approval to going to Mallorca this week end.

André de Staercke came to see me. Spaak and himself think the Secretary's idea of an emergency meeting of NATO an excellent one. It was discussed in the NATO Council meetir this morning and, with the exception of the British and French, who were without instructions on the subject, there was enthusiastic support for the idea. De Staercke would like it held in Rome or, failing that, in London, although it appears there is some sentiment in Washington for its taking place in the United States.

Margaret Biddle called on me. She says the pro-EDC people consider that Mendès has been placed in a [redacted] difficult and, for him, dangerous political position. Anything he negotiates with the Allies must be submitted for approval to the French Parliament. I would gather that the usual French political intrigues aiming at the deposition of a Prime Minister are under way.

Gris and Alphand came to dinner tonight. Alphand's own personal future is by no means clear; although he has just received a [redacted] consolatory letter from Parodi, the anti-EDC clique in the Quai d'Orsay is said to be thirsting for his blood. Like Monnet, he has not abandoned hope that, out of the general confusion, the idea of European integration will revive. He called me at midnight, stating he had just heard on the radio the announcement by the British Government of its intention to call a conference of the six Governments of Little Europe, plus the U.S. and U.K., to consider the German problem.

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